5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

colonies other than Martinique, Guadeloupe and Réunion and at the same time they were subjected to rule by direct decree of the Emperor.

It was under the Second Empire that the first great period of French colonial expansion in black Africa took place. It was during that regime that Faidherbe, who was to Senegal what Lugard was to Nigeria, first embarked on his African conquests. Faidherbe himself embodied this dichotomy in French colonial policy: an authoritarian agent of an authoritarian regime, he was often found introducing reforms and innovations that conformed with the most liberal application of an assimilationist policy.

Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in 1854. At the time St. Louis, according to Abbé Boilaut in his *Esquisses sénégalaises* was a city of 12,336 inhabitants with only 177 Europeans. There were two primary schools run by Catholic missionaries. A full scale administration had succeeded in imposing on a town otherwise consisting mainly of single storey houses, a governor's palace, a 'very elegant Palace of Justice', a large naval hospital, a fine church and an army barracks.

From his base at St. Louis, Faidherbe, in a series of brilliant campaigns, notably against the powerful emir of Trarza and the Muslim reformist and Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Omar, was to lay the foundations of France's West African empire. To do this he organised the now famous *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, since Europeans did not stand up well to the climate and the prevalent diseases. By conquest or by treaty he brought most of modern Senegal and much of Soudan (Mali) under French rule. He installed an efficient military administration, and even published an official newspaper the *Moniteur du Sénégal*. Altogether Faidherbe was a remarkable man. He was a firm believer in the equality of races, and did much to increase the educational facilities of the colony. He established a school for the sons of chiefs, and lay schools for Muslims, who objected to attending the mission schools. Whilst Faidherbe wanted to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

encourage the evangelisation of the population, he[1] was sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and its people to realise that it would be impossible to win converts from among the Muslims who formed the majority in Senegal. Scholarships for primary education in St. Louis, and secondary education in France were awarded under his auspices to promising students. Small technical schools were established at Dakar. And he even opened a museum at St. Louis.

He tried to equip the colony with some of the benefits of a modern economy. He established the Bank of Senegal, laid out St. Louis afresh as befitted a capital city, and under his influence Pinet-Laprade founded the new port of Dakar. He promoted the export of the ground-nut crop, becoming increasingly valuable to the colony's revenue which rose from 12 million francs in 1848 to 37 million in 1869, and proved a profitable substitute for human merchandise. He made valuable and detailed studies of the local people. Like Lugard he seemed to be able to think of every aspect of administration at the same time. The historian G. Hardy wrote of him: 'He touched on everything, and always with good results.' But as J. Richard-Molard commented, 'He was the first great Frenchman to realise the wish of Barth. But he did it as an officer of the Empire, endowed with an abominable character and a sense of authority which bordered on vice. He was proconsul of an authoritarian Empire.'

One decision vital for the future of the Senegal was made during the Faidherbian regime: this was the final abandonment of any ideals of European colonisation. It came at a time when the French were settling Algeria, and was not altogether altruistic, as the ministerial instructions of 1859 showed:

> Nothing similar to Algeria could be undertaken in Senegal. The climate is against it. The land should therefore be left to the natives, at least as a general rule. It is by their hands that it should be cultivated and if our rule is to be extended over all the territory

[1] [i.e., Faidherbe, who became Governor in 1854.—Gwolyn]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

III. FRENCH REACTION AGAINST ASSIMILATION

000 France had made a great mistake in granting suffrage to the Natives. She did not withdraw her present, but took good care not to repeat it elsewhere.

PIERRE MILLE: *The Black Vote in Senegal.*

648 UNTIL 1913 all the Senegalese deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies were citizens of metropolitan origin. And in the General Council and the municipal councils Europeans, even when they were not in a majority, more often than not succeeded in controlling proceedings. With this European domination of the representative institutions, it may come as a surprise that France not only failed to extend the experiment to other parts of French Africa, but indeed did her best to suppress those rights already granted in Senegal. First of all many of the Governors resented the control the General Council had over the territorial budget, albeit limited. Secondly they found that the General Council tried to run a peace-time administration for that part of Senegal under direct rule, whilst the Governors were more concerned with the pacification of the much larger hinterland, for in those days Senegal included much of what is now Mali. As one historian of Senegal, André Villard, has put it: 'The Colony thought it had the right to lead the quiet life of a French *arrondissement* at the very time when expansion towards the east necessitated exceptional political and military efforts.' An authoritarian Governor like Brière de l'Isle found it particularly galling to be saddled with a democratically elected legislative council. Furthermore the General-Councillors, who were mainly European or half-caste up

646 [633] [563] 643 646 [652] 646 563 633

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

till the end of the nineteenth century, neglected the Protectorate and seemed to think that the only parts of the country that mattered were the four communes. Naturally their official business with the Protectorate was limited, but they did control the three main ports of the country through which the products of the interior passed to France. The councillors, too, restricted education largely to the communes, where on the whole it reached a satisfactory level. They even sent students on scholarships to France, but unfortunately too few of these returned to Senegal to use their newly acquired talents. It was not until the establishment of the Government-General of French West Africa in 1905 that educational facilities were extended to the Protectorate in any great measure.

The increase in education amongst citizens of African origin meant that by the turn of the nineteenth century they were less willing to accept European domination in the communes and the General Council. The assertion of their rights is one of the main factors behind the attempts of the administration to deprive the indigenous Senegalese of their position as *citoyens*. Actually the Administration was batting on a good wicket. Technically a French citizen was one who accepted French rights and duties without qualification. In the case of the Africans in Senegal they had been allowed to retain their own *statut personnel*, that is private law, with reference to civil disputes, matrimony, divorce, inheritance and land. But this seemed to conflict openly with the definition of a French citizen. It seemed wrong that a man should exercise the rights of a French citizen and not accept the consequent obligations. Many Frenchmen felt it quite illogical that an African with four wives could yet be a citizen. And indeed in later years the main obstacle to granting citizenship to other colonial peoples was to be the question of retention of the *statut personnel*. Thus many of the attempts by the French to deprive the Senegalese citizens of their rights were the result of quite genuine objections to the illogicality of their position. Faidherbe,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

643 641 writing in 1889, protested against this attitude since he felt Faidherbe, that to make monogamy a condition of citizenship would break up families and that monogamy should be achieved by education. But more potent were those forces which disliked the exercise of such rights by a small African minority, albeit linked with Europeans, which could so often obstruct not only the Governor of Senegal but the Governor-General himself, since until 1904 these two were one and the same man. The existence of a vocal General Council and Municipal Councils, let alone a deputy in France, which could all express opinions directly hostile to the authoritarian rule of the Governor, was another important factor behind the moves to deprive the Senegalese of their citizenship at the end of the nineteenth century. There was also 666 641 however quite genuine concern at the way in which the vote was exercised in Senegal. Pierre Mille, in an article entitled *The Black Vote in Senegal* published in 1901, alleged that the African voters, mainly illiterate, were controlled by the handful of Europeans who bought their votes. He went so far as to describe Senegal as a 'rotten borough'. Indeed he alleged that the expense of the election absorbed a large part of the colony's finances: and further that after competing against each other for the electors' favour, the big companies in Senegal finally decided to combine the operation to save expenses and control Senegal to their 641 mutual advantage. But as to the virtue of the Senegalese [595] as citizens in other respects Mille was surprisingly warm: 'Having become French citizens and notwithstanding that they were Muslims, they, with a few exceptions, accepted monogamy . . . and they have spread far and wide in Africa the renown and justice of French administration'. But as Mille concluded, this was not sufficient to persuade France 648 to continue the experiment in her other West African colonies. Indeed, confirming what has already been said about empirical tendencies in French colonial rule, by 1900, when France had gained most of her vast African empire, Mille commented that it was 'administered with an

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

641 648 [643] An interesting sidelight on the confused French attitude towards assimilation and Africans was the status accorded to Blaise Diagne as Commissioner of the Republic in charge of conscription of troops in West Africa. He was given rank equal to that of the Governor-General, Van Vollenhoven, who thereat resigned. However this is only one side of the story. The French insist that he resigned because he felt that the large number of troops to be recruited would wreck the colony's economy and severely reduce the indigenous population. Nevertheless the presence of an African deputy for Senegal was not viewed well in all quarters. But Diagne could not be tempted by high office outside the parliamentary sphere and won a resounding victory in the 1919 elections [666] with 7,444 votes to his opponent's 1,252. He was then appointed Under Secretary of States for Colonies. His essential attachment to France was clear, for whilst in 1919 he became President of the Pan-African Congress, which urged that ultimately 'Africa should be ruled by consent of the Africans . . .' he refused, as Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff have pointed out 'to support any revolutionary theories as to the emancipation of all Negro peoples'. 'We French natives', he said, 'wish to remain French, since France has given us every liberty'.

696 633 The French were still not happy about the position of the *originaires* and in 1920, not so much from a show of liberalism as from a desire to reduce the pressures exercised on the Administration by the twenty-member General Council, it was translated into a Colonial Council with an increased membership of forty-four of which twenty were sent by the hitherto unrepresented Protectorate. The representatives [631] of the *sujets*, who were provincial or cantonal chiefs, could be relied on to vote with the Administration whose agents they were, and thus reduce the independence of the communes. In 1925, however, the number of chiefs was reduced to sixteen and the citizens' representatives increased to twenty-four as a means of persuading them to vote larger

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

taxes, but thereafter relations between chiefs and Government on the one hand and citizens on the other were rarely cordial.

The powers of the Council were very restricted, having legislative rights over minor matters like the classification of roads and the management of public properties. Even these limited powers were subject to the veto of the Governor-General of French West Africa. Its main deliberative competence was over the budget, which though drawn up by the Governor could be criticised by the councillors. This power was watered down by the classification of a large section of the budget as obligatory expenditure. Nevertheless the council was an exceptional institution in West Africa. As R. L. Buell in his *The Native Problem in Africa* wrote:

> That the eight Europeans who participated in the Council should have exactly the same status as the thirty-two blacks is a situation which would strike the Anglo-Saxon as anomalous to say the least. The visitor to the Council will frequently witness a black president calling a European member to order for rowdiness. It does not appear, however, that the council is divided upon racial lines, i.e. of white versus black, except on the issue of higher pay for European officials—a policy which was, in fact, attacked as vigorously by the Europeans as by the native members. The real alignment so far has been the citizen members—both black and European—against the government supported by the chiefs. Black members as we have seen, have unmercifully criticised officials in Senegal. No British colony would tolerate the attacks which the natives make upon European officials in Senegal.

Buell pin-pointed a growing division in the territory—that between the *originaires* and the *sujets* of the Protectorate. The *originaires*, especially since the election of one of their own number as deputy, became increasingly jealous of their privileges. Meanwhile the rest of the territory was administered according to the same principles of administration as were applied throughout the rest of West Africa. Though traditional chiefs were stripped of their traditional powers

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that involved the breaking-away of a number of small sections in various territories, emerged as West Africa's leading party with nine seats, and joined the Guy Mollet Government. Under this Government the famous *loi cadre* was passed establishing for each of the black African territories a wholly elected assembly, based on universal adult suffrage. An executive, that could be drawn from within or without the assembly, was established. Although the territorial Governor presided over it, it was effectively guided by the Vice-President or Prime Minister. Separate rolls for Europeans were abolished. Thus in one fell swoop all African territories were given the elements of responsible democratic government. Certainly their powers were restricted since a large number of subjects were reserved to the Federation, still run by the French High Commissioner, and checked only by the *Grand Conseil*. The *loi cadre*, whilst it did not envisage independence, and still saw the future of the African territories as within the structure of the French body politic, did in effect set these territories on the road to independence. Senghor, an ardent critic of the *loi cadre*, declared: 'The peoples of Africa do not intend to cut themselves off from metropolitan France; they want to be able to construct, side by side with her, their own buildings which will consolidate and extend French territory.'

The *loi cadre*, whilst it made large concessions to African demands for autonomy, was in fact designed to avoid demands for independence. The new French Government had been influenced to this end by France's unfortunate experiences in other parts of her empire as well as the political progress of the Gold Coast. Furthermore she wished to anticipate moves by the Gold Coast to absorb that part of the former German Togo which she administered and therefore accorded it a limited form of internal autonomy. It was inevitable that having granted this concession to Togo she would eventually have to make it to neighbouring French African territories as well. Whilst considerable

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

[48] West Africa, or they'll never leave. The Frenchman has taken everything away from the African. Even prostitution,' he sneered, 'is in their hands.'

Arnold asked him what he thought about Ghana. 'Ghana,' he said fiercely, as though to him it was a deeply significant symbol, 'will stand on its own feet, despite the ill-will of the whole world.' Arnold said: 'But I heard some of your African politicians don't want independence on the Ghana pattern. I've even been told that one said that Ghana got its independence too early.'

'Huh!' he interjected. 'They are jealous because Ghana has got what we will never get, unless they take up arms and drive the Frenchmen away like they did in Dien Bien Phu and are now doing in Algeria.'

Quite why the young man was so vicious against the French I did not discover. His conversation with Arnold certainly gave a false impression of the political situation in French West Africa. He seemed almost as unaware of the political revolution that had taken place here in the Senegal, and throughout French Black Africa only six months earlier, as most British Africans are. For [41] on 31st March, in the same month as Ghana got its independence, French West Africans, every adult, went to the polls to elect their own Territorial Assemblies, from which their own Prime Ministers and Governments would be chosen. And although the new law provided only for a limited degree of internal autonomy for each territory—control of the Civil Service and the police, [43] for instance, were reserved for the Governor—it was an irrevocable step that placed the future of French West Africa in African hands. If the young man had doubts about this, he had only to look at the African Minister from the Senegal talking calmly and confidently to the Acting High Commissioner, Monsieur Torre, to reassure himself.

This young African was not alone in his views. I heard it from other students, though never from a politician in power. The French, of course, because of their record in Indo-China and North Africa, often hear such attacks from the Americans who write about French Black Africa. They arrive there, their opinions already formed by a study of French Colonial policy elsewhere, and condemn everything going on in Dakar and the eight

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

From 1830 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30

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French protection. Hardly was Faidherbe's back turned when Makodou repudiated his engagements. A fresh expedition was necessary, and on 12 March Makodou's forces were repulsed again at Diati near Mekhé. Faidherbe thereupon encouraged an internal revolt, which resulted in the flight of Makodou and the recognition of Madiodio as Damel. He in his turn was dethroned by Lat Dior, whom the French also recognized. He also failed to observe his predecessor's treaties, and in 1863 Faidherbe marched against him and re-established Madiodio. In the December of that year Lat Dior gathered his forces and fell upon the French garrison of Goumbo Gueoul, when Captain Lorans and almost all his detachment of 140 tirailleurs were killed. This time there were no half measures: Lat Dior's army was cut to pieces by Pinet-Laprade near Pout on 12 January 1864, but he himself escaped to the Gambia. Faidherbe then suppressed the native kingdom, established a French protectorate, and divided Cayor into cantons, each under a chief of his own appointment.

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In 1865 Pinet-Laprade, who had succeeded Faidherbe, had to deal with a mallam named Maba, who threatened to involve in a holy war not only Cayor but also the country as far east as Fouta. In 1869 Lat Dior again invaded Cayor, and in 1871 was again recognized by the French as Damel, though shorn of part of his territory. This arrangement worked well for ten years, and when Ahmadu Checkhou, a mallam of Toro, invaded Cayor, the French could not refuse armed aid to Lat Dior. The former was defeated and killed by French forces at Boumdou near Coki in February 1875. In 1881 Lat Dior once more gave trouble by opposing the construction of a railway, and, after military operations, he was replaced by his nephew. Internal unrest followed for some years and Lat Dior tried to take advantage of it; but on 26 October 1886 he was defeated and killed. The protectorate was finally abolished, and Cayor was annexed to the colony.

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At the close of Faidherbe's term of office in 1865 modern Senegal may be said to have emerged. It would be a mistake to regard him only as a conqueror, for, though his primary object was to impose French authority, Senegal owes to him the foundation of its civil administration, its education, its banking system, and its Survey Department. Sympathetic to the natives, he tried to preserve their institutions to the utmost extent compatible with his primary object. While not prepared to discourage European colonization under suitable conditions, Faidherbe considered that the main agricultural

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

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development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

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Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi, and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Galliéni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

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The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

641 [633] other privileges of French citizenship. In due course the same status was conferred on natives of Dakar, and in 1916 French citizenship was extended not only to natives born in these four communes but to their descendants also. It thus came about that out [162] of 80,500 native citizens in the whole of French West Africa 78,000 live in Senegal or Dakar. Of these the great bulk resides in the four old communes.

633 Municipal government, on entirely metropolitan lines, was conferred upon St. Louis and Goree in 1872 and upon Rufisque in 1880. In 1887 Dakar, which had hitherto formed part of Goree, was separated from it, receiving its own elected mayor and council, and in 1929 absorbed its parent. The District of Dakar was separated from Senegal in 1924, and received its own Administrator, directly responsible to the Governor-General.

646 Parliamentary representation was suspended under Napoleon III, but restored in 1870. Until 1914 a European had been elected, but the racial issue was deliberately raised in that year, when M. Blaise [645] Diagne, a Sérère, entered on his long term as Deputy for Senegal. He thoroughly justified his race by heading a campaign for voluntary recruitment in Senegal during the War of 1914–1918, and subsequently held office as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. As early as 1879 the General Council was elected by the citizens of [633] the four communes. It had certain powers of taxation and legislation over the four communes, powers which, though limited, were more democratic than in other parts of French West Africa. Its greatest influence, however, lay in the criticism of the Government, a function which, withheld from it by law, sprang naturally from the power of taxation. When the formal distinction between colony and protectorate disappeared, the General Council gave place to the existing Colonial Council (p. 432), a body with generally similar powers extending over the whole colony.

648 [643] *Senegal and Federation.* Before 1845 and again from 1859 to 1893 the whole of what is now French West Africa was administered by the Governor of Senegal. It was natural, therefore, that in 1895 he should be appointed Governor-General of the Federation, with its not very precise constitution. This appointment was welcomed in Senegal, as it enhanced the colony's supremacy. In 1902 the Governor-Generalship was made a separate office, and Senegal sank to the level of the other colonies. This new arrangement, although a blow [652] to the pride of the Senegalese, did not touch their pockets. They still kept control of their own revenues, out of which they voted a sum

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 31

633 645 The Council has the same functions as that of the colony, but its decisions need the approval (usually formal) of the Standing [648] Committee of the Governor-General's Council.

The Executive Councils of Senegal and of Dakar are known as *conseils privés*, whereas those of the other colonies are known as *conseils d'administration*.

646 633 *The Colonial Council of Senegal.* The history of the Colonial Council and of its predecessor, the General Council, has been given above. The earlier council had jurisdiction over the four full communes only, but its successor, which dates from 1920, when all distinctions between colony and protectorate were abolished, has jurisdiction over the whole colony. The inhabitants of the District of Dakar still retain their votes for the Colonial Council, and as a corollary the Council can discuss the affairs of the District. The pretext for this decision was afforded by the provision, in the decrees [C52] of 1924, that the Colonial Budget of Senegal should contain a grant in aid of Dakar; but French writers do not disguise the fact that it was thought not desirable entirely to divorce the District from the rest of Senegal. The decrees of 1924, therefore, expressly left it an integral, though autonomous, part.

646 666 The Colonial Council is unique in French Africa in that its membership includes Europeans, natives, chiefs, citizens, and subjects. It is, therefore, worthy of detailed mention. Its constitution [642] and powers are laid down in a decree of 4 December 1920, as amended by decrees of 30 March 1925, 13 January 1930, and 8 April 1939. This last added the subjects. The colony is divided into four electoral districts, from which members are elected on a population basis. The Council is elected for a term of six years, but, on the recommendation [648] of the Governor, it may be dissolved by the Governor-General. Should a dissolution occur, a new election must be held within three months. There are 62 members in all: 26 citizens elected by citizens, 18 provincial or canton chiefs elected by those of the same rank, and 18 native subjects. These subjects must either have been born in the colony or be descendants of subjects born in [641] the colony; they must have completed their military service; and they are elected by all other subjects who fulfil the same conditions. In 1929 the European element only numbered one-fifth of the total membership, and the additions made in 1939 will have had the effect of swamping it.

646 643 The Council meets for a fortnight's session once a year, but it can be summoned by the Governor at any time. It chooses its own

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 M537 Senegal MS 37

president, but the Governor has the right of addressing it and of deputing high officials to speak to it of the work of their own departments. It appoints a Standing Committee, which can meet to trans-

FIG. 52. *Senegal: Administrative Divisions*

act business when the full Council is not in session. It is bound, however, to report to its parent body.

The Council's powers are wide. It must be consulted on a proposal to create new communes, and it may advise on any matter put before it by the Governor. It may legislate on eight stated topics, which are chiefly concerned with the management of state property and with the colony's financial contributions to the public works of the Federation. This legislation comes into force within two months, unless previously vetoed by the Governor-General. The Council also has the right to deliberate the assessment and collection of

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation.

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs.

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator.

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree.

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters.

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.